/135 cont./

114 197 however, Čiriana and Čapakura are still to be regarded as two independent linguistic groups.

128 197 In the following, only a small selection of Surára words are offered, along with the corresponding words of Waika (according to Schuster) (16), Karimé (according to Salathé, 1932),

[122]

16. My sincerest thanks are due Herr Dr. Meinhard Schuster, Frankfurt, for the willingness with which he put at my disposal an excerpt of the Waika linguistic material that he is working on.

Širiana (according to Koch-Grünberg, 1928), and Warema (according to Vinci, 1956), in order to illustrate the close relationship that exists between these languages. The chief criterion for the selection was the availability of documented forms in the five languages; moreover, care was also taken to draw on words of a "non-cultural" nature for the most part, that is, /136/ those that are not so frequently taken over by neighboring languages and thus -- if agreeing morphologically and in meaning -- represent stronger proof of the genetic relationship of the languages compared. 114 Becher's linguistic notes were made chiefly with Surára informants; for the designations of body parts, however, there were also additional forms (marked by P) which a Pakidái informant gave him.

104 194 The transcription of the five lists has been standardized; that of Karimé has also been simplified somewhat by the fact that two h and š sounds not adequately described by Salathé have been reproduced simply as h and š. With respect to the transcription, the following should be noted: ë = middle, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ï = high, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ã, etc. = nasal vowel; ɛ = open e; š = unvoiced, alveopalatal fricative; x = unvoiced, palatal fricative; ? = glottal stop; : = length for the previous sound.

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	Surára and Pakidái	Waika	Karimé	Širiana	Warema
Deer	*hayá*	*háya*	*hdia*	*haitxa*	*aʔsá*
Maracajá	*yaó*	*gidandni*	*yauesẽ*	*txáo*	*hiʔdanani* (puma)
Cutia	*tómã*	*tómĩ*	*naškóro*	*tó:mẽ*	
Paca	*amutá*	*amóta*		*amõta*	*amotá*
Mutum	*paruri*	*báluli*	*pá:ri*	*bá:li*	*paluli*
Jacamim	*nyapín*	*yápi*	*yá:pĩ*		
Jácaré	*iwá*	*iwa*	*nẽri*	*wé:li*	*iwadamá*
Fish	*yu:ri*	*yúli*	*yúri*	*mayteli-tép(i)na*	*žõmá:*
Crayfish	*ohó*	*óho*		*ó:ho*	
Banana	*kuratá*	*kuratá*	*kura:tá*	*kalatá:he*	*ukumatadé*

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128 The languages have been arranged in such a way that those which seem to be nearest to the Šurára lexically follow it directly, and those which differ from it the most come last. This gradation of similarity with respect to the Surára is given here, however, only on the basis of impressionistic findings, which, furthermore, rest only on an examination of language samples containing the above 40 words. It is therefore not a reliable basis for a linguistic classification of the entire group, though one may see in it an indication of the relationships of the individual languages to each other. In any case, support for the classifications of Mason and McQuown (pp. 1-3) cannot be drawn from it. /The bibliography on pp. 137-138 of the original source is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

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Introduction

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The native tribes that are discussed in the present report inhabit the northwest zone of the Escudo Guayanés, located in the southern part of the Republic of Venezuela. As the natural boundaries of this region, which we call "the Orinoco-Ventuari region," one may point out the rivers: the Orinoco in the north and west; the Ventuari in the south, and the Caura in the east. Geographically the zone is enclosed between 64°-68°W. and 4°-8° N. approximately. The northern part of it corresponds to the Distrito Cedeño of Bolivar state, while the southern part, as Departamento Atures, belongs to the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

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Hydrographically speaking, the region includes five river basins which carry off its water and which at the same time set off the various areas of native distribution (1).

●[128]

1. We do not include here the small native groups who recently arrived (Guahibo, Piapoco, Puinave, Curipaco). They live along the periphery of the region, except the Guahibo, who advanced a few years ago to the Manapiare river.

a) The basin of the Cuara, with the Mayoncon /Maioncon/, a subgroup of the Makiritare, the Yecuana, and with some Sanemá groups;
b) The basin of the Cuchivero, with the Panare Indians and some unknown groups on the headwaters;
c) The basin of the Suapure, which, with the exception of some Panare nuclei, does not at the present time have any native populations;
d) The basin of the Sipapo, with the Piaroa and Macó Indians;
e) The basin of the Ventuari, with the Yabarana Indians on the Manapiare River, the Yecuana (Decuana) subtribe of the Makiritare, and the Nabudub, a Sanemá subgroup (cf. hydrographic map /see p.12/).

Guahibo SC14 Sanema
Yabarana 5522 Saliva 5515
Makiritare 5520 Panare 5521

M /13 cont./
101 searching primarily for a new source of food and not so much for a better means of communication. The typical Venezuelan Caribe, at least at the present time, is a man who loves land (Pemón, Cariña, Panare, Yabarana, Yupa), and the Makiritare, river men, represent an exception among them.

I & Y/a M 361 According to the relative importance which the river has among the different tribes, nuclei of them are found along the principal aquatic arteries, such as those of the Makiritare, or at a distance from them, on the tributaries and headwaters, as among the Panare, Yabarana, Guahibo, and Sanemá. This circumstance is of the utmost importance for the study of these Indians. The Y/a farther away they live from the river, the more difficult it is to ● [128] make contact and to live with them. Thus the Panare are even less known than are the Makiritare and the Piaroa, and we are presenting in the present report the first relatively ample information on the Sanemá and Yabarana. /14/ /Map appears here./

D Y 114 /15/ The three weeks which we spent among the Panare were very laborious, and the time among the Sanemá was very hard physically.

Y 122 In spite of these difficulties, which in comparison with those of a voyage at the beginning of the century are insignificant, the zone is open for any type of communication. One can P 122 go by airplane to Caicara, Puerto Ayacucho, San Juan de Manapiare, and Cucurí (between the Tenqua and Oso Falls). Thus, for a special study of the Panare one can go from Caracas to Caicara S 122 on a flight of a few hours and then continue by jeep and arrive on the same day at the first bohio of the Panare. In order to Ya 122 study the Piaroa, one goes by airplane as far as Puerto Ayacucho and then on by foot or by curiara. The Yabarana can be visited in the dry season, going by regular flight to Puerto Ayacucho and from there to San Juan de Manapiare by a flight lasting 30 minutes Y M 122 in a small plane. One reaches the houses of the Yabarana on the same say, and in two days more the "Monteros," the most autochthonous of this tribe. In order to reach Makiritare territory and the Sanemá of the upper Ventuari, one goes by airplane to Puerto Ayacucho on a regular flight and then on to Cacurí on a flight lasting 50 minutes more or less in a small plane. In

[Text continues on p. 6]

/19 cont./

In the present report we use most of the extant data, and their compilation, ordering, and selection, together with our own personal contribution, constitute the study which we present here on the Indians of this part of Venezuela.

For our purpose we followed the footsteps of the great Venezuelan ethnologist, Lisandro Alvarado, who, with the publication of his book, Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela /Ethnographic Data of Venezuela/, took a firm step toward the great task of compiling /20/ all the objective material written over the course of many decades regarding the native tribes of this part of the world (2).

2. Obras completas de Lisandro Alvarado /Complete Works of Lisandro Alvarado/, Vol. 4 (Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes). Caracas, 1956.

Our report lacks uniformity with regard to the character and volume of material on the various tribes to which we refer, but this fact reflects precisely our present sporadic knowledge concerning the tribes, which, in the last phase of their autochthonous life, urgently invite the competent ethnologist to leave testimony of a human conglomerate of our ancient American continent. /Maps 5 and 6 appear here. Pages 21-176 are not included in the translation./

/177/

The Sanemá

101 The word Sanemá appears here as the designation for a subtribe of the Yanoama. The Sanemá were called Guaharibo and were sometimes confused also with the Shirishana /Shiriana/.

The terms Guaharibo and Shirishana (written with abusive orthographic freedom) lack proper sense when applied to the Sanemá, and they must not, as has heretofore happened, be applied to this tribe or to the peripheral bands, who accepted them as designations used by the Whites (Guaharibo) and by the Makiritare (Shirishana).

The name Guaharibo, like Macú and Tapuya, is a vague and collective designation which includes many primitive tribes and which, therefore, has little classificatory value and will not stand up to scientific and impartial criticism.

The term Shirishana, for its part, seems to us to be a nickname rather than a generic denomination, since it means "araguato monkey" and is used by the Caribe in a contemptuous tone when they refer to the Sanemá, whom they consider to be subhuman beings born from the dust of their shadows. The name also lends itself easily to confusion with the Crichaná of the Ianaperi River and of Caribe affiliation.

For the above-mentioned reasons we prefer the term Sanemá, which means "people," to that of Guaharibo, which is equivalent to "savage," or to Shirishana, "araguato monkey." This preference has more scientific aspects and more human respect.

[114] It would seem that the term Yanoamá was introduced into ethnographic literature by Zerries (1956a, p. 187) and was accepted, quite rightly, by Schuster (1958, p. 115) and Becher (1960, p. 6) as a generic name for the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, Samatari, Surara, and Pakidai.

• 128 101 In the present treatise we shall consider the Yanoama as a tribe, not so much in the politico-social sense, as in the linguistic-cultural sense, since the Yanoama, in general, represent a specific culture made up /178/ /map appears here/ /179/ of the various peculiar subcultures of the diverse subtribes which live in a coherent territory, which speak closely related languages, and possess essentially similar economic and sociological forms.

/179 cont./

619 [621] [596] Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local groups which form a band of extended families and provide the peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[184] [194] From what has been published up to the present regarding the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 ● 128 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to [799] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Bari SS 13 Sanema
Makiritare SS 20 Warao SS 18
Saliva SS 15

/179 cont./

Y 131 127 128 We have knowledge of the distribution of the Sanemá on the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura from our own expedition's personnel, while we took the data on the Casapare from the excellent cartographic work of Montoya (1958), who visited the zone over a period of several months.

Y [101] /180/ The name Casapare is employed by the Sanemá to designate their neighbors to the east. Koch-Grünberg (1923) had already mentioned the group of the Upper Uraricaparã, a tributary of the Uraricuera and the one that occupied the right shore of the Uraricuera River, facing the Marutani range, on the Motomotõ River. The broken lines indicate, approximately, the territory occupied by each Yanoama subtribe. The location of the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma comes from the map published by Civrieux (1959), and that of the other settlements of that tribe was verified by the personnel of our expedition.

M 131 127

Y 131 161 According to this map, the territory inhabited at the present time by the Yanoama is located between 0° 30' – 5° N and 62° – 65° 30' W. If we grant that the total Yanoama population reaches the figure of 20,000 individuals spread out over an area of 150,000 square kilometers, we recognize as the density index of the population that of one person per 7.5 square kilometers. There are authors who, being overly generous, raise the Yanoama population to 30,000 and even 50,000 inhabitants, but this number seems exaggerated to us.

B S U 161 177 It is interesting to point out that the highest figures for the native population correspond to the primitive tribes of hunters and fishermen or to those who had an incipient or rudimentary agriculture, such as: the Barí (Motilones, Mapé), 2,000; the Piaroa, 4,000; and the Warao, 8,000.

They are also the tribes which have had least contact with the white man. There is an interesting and instructive relation between the demographic datum of a native population and the number of years that it has had contact with Whites: the higher the latter, the lower the former.

Warao SS18

Sanema

Chibcha SC11

Bari' SS13

CBV 197 143

/198 cont./

A linguistic connection has been observed between the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama, a relationship which appears to be closer than that which usually exists among all the indigenous languages of America, and, therefore, it is interesting that that group of tribes should occupy a common position and at the same time an extreme one on the distribution scale of the Di^a gene. In this case it is not a matter /199/ of a gradual difference, such as that of 12% Arawak and 28% Caribe. In this case it is a matter of an important difference between "positive" and "negative." The tribes mentioned are diametrically opposed to the Páez, Ica, and other tribes with frequencies of 45%, and this means that the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama are genetically distinct from their Arawak and Caribe neighbors and from the Chibcha of Colombia (Páez, Ica), but identical among themselves (speaking always of a single gene).

CBV 143

Another observation, equally interesting, is that in general terms the cultural pattern of the tribes marked with the negative Diego is relatively uniform: they are essentially gatherers and not producers with regard to obtaining food, but their social structure and their religious concepts also seem to have many common traits which at the same time are very different from those of other native tribes of Venezuela and South America. We cannot at the present time go into this interesting point in greater detail. To sum up, we shall say that the Waica (Yanoama) are genetically similar to the Warao, Barí, and Tunebo. As all these tribes show very primitive cultural traits, it is our opinion that the absence of the Di^a gene is a characteristic of the ancient populations of South America, since it is generally accepted that the tribes called Marginal belong to an early invasion of native immigration. It is noteworthy that all the tribes speak idioms with Chibcha characteristics.

CBV [197] Y

• 128

In the foregoing discussion we had to include the several Yanoama subtribes in order to try to locate the Sanemá within a larger ethnogeographic framework. We shall now concentrate more specifically on the Sanemá, due to the study of this subtribe which we made in the field. Many of the data gathered could be

/199 cont./

128 attributed to the other subtribes also, but we do not believe it proper to make an indiscriminate generalization, particularly if we bear in mind that the subtribes seem to be carriers of different subcultures.

101 The Sanemá live on the upper Ventuari, the Erebato, and the Caura. It is therefore a matter of the Sanemadub, Nabadub, and Pubmatari and their various local groups already mentioned in the introduction. We can, to begin with, divide these Sanemá into two groups: those who live in close association with the Makiritare, and those who, although living in the land of the Makiritare, have not been able to establish permanent relationships with them. For which reason it is difficult to record in a definitive and absolute fashion precise demographic data, and we view those which we publish here with certain reservations.

/200/

101 A. Sanemá of the upper Caura (Pubmatari)

162

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Canaracuni	300	In the border zone there are several nomadic bands with specific names, who accept the term "Sanemá" as a generic name of theirs. They frequently change their stopping places between Brazil and Venezuela.
2. Wanaña	200	
3. Yemekuni	300	
4. Caura source	100	
5. Nomadic bands	500	
Total	1,400 estimated individuals	

162 B. Sanemá of the upper Erebato (Sanemadub)

1. Kariana-sodi	40
2. Wasaña	62
3. Udehuduña	125
4. Kuyuhiña	143
Total	370 individuals counted 1960

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 114 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 128 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have considered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 192 The linguistic material which the author of the present work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 192 174 197 In order to classify this material within the different Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 197 174 126 127 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabularies were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956, pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subtribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Ventuari, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Araçá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, successfully resisting any attempt of intrusion by such groups as the Soto (Makiritare), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Ventuari, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into [648] Carib territory for more than 100 km.

114 Although sporadic and rather casual information on the several Yanoama groups have been published by various authors since early Colonial time, it is only

122 1 We wish to thank Dr A. Berti and Ovidio Castellani (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. E. Rosenfield (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Albin Messer (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with critical anti-sera.

St Layrisse et al. D,E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18
Waica

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casspare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá:* (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudíb, (c) Pubmatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudíb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubmatari = 17 mc, Nabudíb-Pubmatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casspare:* (a) Casspare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Samatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casspare-Waica = 21 mc, Casspare-Samatari = 21 mc, Waica-Samatari = 8 mc].

2 Sanema-Pakidái, by Becher, 1960; Waica, by Baker, 1953; Schmuse, 1958; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1959; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 325; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 28; Dall' Igna Rodrigues, 1958, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Dra H. Becher and O. Zerries for having us have a basic vocabulary of Sanema-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

St Laurine et al. D, E-8 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

classification, based on somatological and phenotypical characteristics of the American Indians as proposed by Coon, Garn, and Birdsell,[21] who distinguished between dolicephalic and somewhat mongoloid *Marginal American Indians*, and broader headed less mongoloid *Central American Indians. As a parallel and, of course, not as a causal phenomenon*, the cited authors (very much like the present authors) record that the *Marginal American Indians* include largely non-agricultural Indians of the Americas, while the latter are agricultural peoples of North and South America, especially of the central part. This observation receives substantial support from the recorded facts of the Diego gene distribution, and its importance for migration theory and culture history of South America may be significant. In the given frame of the present paper we shall restrict ourselves to the discussion of the importance of the absence of the Diego gene mainly among two Marginal tribes of Venezuela, the Waica and the Warao, trying to indicate a possible direction for future Diego research.[21a]

In a recent study, Canals Frau[22] observed that the oldest stratum of *Homo sapiens* in America was composed of five distinct racial types, i.e., the *Silvidos*, the *Sonóridos*, the *Láguidos*, the *Patagónidos*, and the *Huárpidos*, and that the last three were of South American distribution. It is interesting to recall in this connection that Canals Frau includes the Waica and the Piaroa in this antique stratum within which great phenotypical variation has been observed by Vinci, for the Yanoama, and by Baumgartner for the Piaroa.[23] It would seem that the actual occurrence of this variation in one and the same group could best be interpreted by fusion and interbreeding of the different racial types of Paleo-American Man.

Because of his early appearance, the culture of this Paleo-American Man will necessarily have been on a Paleo-Indian (hunters), and later Meso- Indian (fishermen) level of development.[24] Kirchhoff,[25] in referring to the hunting and fishing Marginals of Venezuela, observed that the "differences in subsistence are correlated with other cultural differences, indicating that there was not one basic culture type, but two, the Hunting Culture and the Fishing Culture;" that "Each in turn was divided into at least two subtypes," and that "Without further comparative research, it is impossible to say whether these subtypes were simply local variants of the two basic types or whether they too sprang from different origins."

21 Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.
21a Laurine and Wilbert, 1961.
22 Canals Frau, 1959.
23 Vinci, 1934; Zerries, 1959; Baumgartner, 1934.
24 Cf. Bennett, 1948.
25 Kirchhoff, 1948, p. 443.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

842
846 the male as continuing in importance not only after conception—at which stage, in our own positivist scientific view, the male role ceases to count—but for a certain period after the actual birth. The male, the cause, is still in the picture, according to the Indian mind, when the mother and child are living a normal life.

843
844 I had known other native peoples, and in regard to these Indian beliefs on
● [128] the subject of childbirth, Luis Antonio confirmed what had already come to my
[115] knowledge.

'In order for the birth to be a success,' he told me, 'when the wife is five
[825] months gone, the husband should stop eating peccary, snake or *caribe* (the name given in Venezuela to the carnivorous fish known in Brazil as *piranha*), and the flesh of any animal of an aggressive nature.' (Here, principles of hygiene were mingled with elements of magic, as happens also in the more advanced
[846] religions.) 'Then, before the birth, during the birth and after, the man must stay in the hammock without stirring, because any strain on his part, or any mishap that came his way, would affect the child and might have dire results.'

[562] The explanation sounds quite normal and natural once one admits the principle of continued causation in the man, the woman being regarded simply as a means. In fact there is no need for her to obey the injunction to stay in the hammock. She will continue her daily round until she feels 'something break inside her'. Then, with the midwife, she will hurry to the appointed place on the river-bank.

* 123
844 I once had the chance of being present at a birth. I was with the Taurepan Indians of the Gran Sabana, and I watched hidden behind a cluster of Mauritius palm, where I could follow the principal stages of the proceedings. The woman, with her head tilted back, was seated on the clay bank in a sort of arm-chair shaped hollow which had been scooped out—whether naturally or made for the purpose I do not know. The midwife knelt at her feet, waiting. For some time both remained in this position. The woman kept giving little cries—but not really cries of pain. After a brief labour, the mother uttered one long howl which sounded to me like an 'u . . . u . . . uh' of rapture, and the midwife rose to her feet, holding up a tiny, mottled infant head downwards by the heels.

Still holding the baby by the feet, the old lady washed him in the river—
—with exactly the motions you might expect from a washerwoman giving the final rinsing to some heavy garment. I couldn't see the next step, but a few

/433/ Memoir on the Culture of the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

114 * The author of this work is a missionary of a North American mission, the "New Tribes Mission," who has lived for several years among the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. Without presuming to be an ethnologist, Mr. Barker has prepared this report containing his observations, and, having kindly sent it to the Ministro de Justicia for his information and for publication, the Comisión Indigenista has accepted it for these pages of the Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, considering its importance as firsthand information concerning a remote tribe scarcely studied up to now. Direct observations made over a period of several years, such as those revealed to us by Mr. Barker in a simple and objective fashion, are of positive utility for ethnologists and ethnographers. In the translation of the original from English to Spanish, we tried to adhere as closely as possible to the words and expressions of the author himself, without having recourse to technical terms. -- (Note by the translator, Walter Dupouy.) /It is to be noted that Mr. Dupouy was the original translater from the English to Spanish, but not the HRAF translator from the Spanish to English./

• [128]

HDO

121 Most of the data included in this memoir are the result of my own observations. Observations made by other members of the staff of the "New Tribes" Mission, who have also collaborated, are included as well. They are: Mr. Edwin Killam and his wife,

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

[Introductory, p. iii:]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yanomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yanomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yanomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

121 us the opportunity to estimate the effects of warfare on the
583 nature of marriage practices among a people who are chroni-
582 cally at war, a situation not frequently found in the present
182 ethnographic world.
726

• 128 B. The Data and Field Techniques

Several kinds of data are required to illustrate Yanomamö marriage practices and the variables affecting them. The most important data are those I obtained from genealogies and the historical relationships between villages.

In total, I have genealogical data on some 3,000 individuals, living and dead, from 15 villages. Not all the data are comparable in quality and I shall confine my discussion to the populations of the five villages for which
128 my data are most complete. These five villages fall into
*621 two groups with regard to their historical origins. Three
*628 of them have a common history, separating initially about 1943 at which time two villages were formed.[1] One of these split again about 1954 to form two villages, giving a total of 3 separate but closely related villages. The other two of the five selected for this study also have a common history, but are distinct from the first three. For purposes of clarity I will refer to these two villages as Shamatari (see Chapter 5 for discussion). About 1960 the two Shamatari villages split from each other and are presently on good terms.

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[1] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the historical relationships of these villages.

121 I did not attempt to collect data on all aspects of Yąnomamö culture. Hans Becher (1960) and Otto Zerries (1964) had already done this. I concentrated, rather, on Yąnomamö social organization, settlement pattern, warfare and ideology and gathered data that would permit me to analyze these aspects of Yąnomamö culture and how they were related to each other in determining marriage practices.

124 The collection of genealogies proved to be the most important and the most difficult task of my field work. The widespread taboo against saying the names of both the living and the dead found in South America, particularly in the Guiana area, was carried to an extreme by the Yąnomamö. Consequently, much of my time was spent trying to discover which of my informants were giving me erroneous information, a frustrating and time consuming task. It was not unusual to discover after I had spent weeks on particular genealogies working with data provided by crafty informants that I had to disregard most, if not all, of those data. The Indians soon discovered my interest and set about inventing names for everybody in the village--and learning them, making my task all the more difficult when I checked my genealogies with informants from other villages. Thus, I would arrive at what I considered an accurate genealogy for the members of the village I lived in only to be advised by an Indian from another village that most of the names were inventions. I was therefore unable to check the accuracy of the stated relationships between individuals with outside informants

124 until I devised techniques to overcome this informant re-
• [128] action. I had ultimately to resort to using informants from
124 other villages to get much of the information, particularly
551 names, about the people with whom I spent most of my time, or,
969 to employ informants who had grudges against individuals with-
578 in the village; the greatest insult a Yanomamö can give is to say the name of a person's dead ancestor, and I capitalized on this custom at every opportunity.

124 Once I obtained accurate names,[1] the task became
551 easier and I was able to use local informants once again,
969 although rarely would they mention names of their dead relatives. Toward the end of my field work I managed to gain the confidence of several older individuals who verified and expanded on information I had collected by more devious means; even so, they themselves would not mention the names of many of the individuals in the genealogies, and I was constrained by my bargain with these informants not to mention the names
124 of any of their closely related dead kinsmen. By utilizing
128 several informants who were not closely related I managed to verify and correct the genealogies of the people with whom I lived, and I am reasonably sure that the information is accurate as far as it goes, although there are probably

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[128] [1] I was satisfied that the name was accurate when I obtained the same name from several of my most trusted informants. The best proof, however, was the reaction of an informant who was related to the deceased. If this informant became angry or upset when I whispered the name in his presence while checking a genealogy, I was reasonably sure that I had the right name.

124 omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of
• 123 individuals from other villages were easier to collect, particularly if my informants had grudges against the members of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in these cases as well.

124 After I had established the genealogical relationships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other
124 kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as
123 the Yąnomamö resent being called by their names, particularly
551 older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would
554 say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in
764 a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to understand why a complete stranger should want to possess such knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this advice.

124 In short, the collection of the genealogies was an unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for intensive study of other aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 The two monographs dealing with the Yąnomamö mentioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of social organization; to date no intensive analysis of Yąnomamö social organization has been attempted using data

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958). Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumõna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumõna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumõna-u of the Yąnomamõ. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148 are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimõwi-bora in Yąnomamõ) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karĩbã-bora in Yąnomamõ) near the present village of Kashorawã-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

CHAPTER I

YĘNOMAMÖ CULTURE AND EARLIER ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK[1]

A. Yąnomamö Culture

101 The Yąnomamö are discussed in the literature under such tribal designations as Guaica, Waika, Guaharibo, Makù, Sohiriana, Xiriana, Kirischana, Shidishana, Shamatari, Sanema, and Yanoama. Most of the terms are derogatory names applied to the Yąnomamö by their neighbors and characterize the people as being monkey-like or as savages.[2]

[114] In the upper Orinoco and the Mavaca basin where I conducted my field work, the Indians referred to themselves as Yąnomamö, which at once defines their mode of life, language, origin, and includes all people who share this mode of life, language and origin. All non-Yąnomamö are collectively

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[114] [1]As there are very few reliable English sources describing Yąnomamö social organization and culture, I give a brief description of them here. The best source in English to date is Zerries' 1955 publication, but it deals only with particular traits of Yąnomamö culture.

[128] [94] [104] [2]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized on every syllable, but for ease of typing this manuscript, I have not indicated all the nasalization. The vowel /-ɨ-/ is written /-ö-/. I have written the /- ə -/ as "-ë-" and have indicated nasalization by /-,-/; whenever a Yąnomamö word has one nasalized syllable, all syllables in that word are nasalized.

called nabä--"stranger" or "foreigners." Nabä have degenerated from an original Yąnomamö stock and are regarded, therefore, with some contempt by the Yąnomamö, an attitude that is further manifested in the language; Yąnomamö in linguistic usage requires an honorific pronoun whereas nabä takes the common pronouns.

I adopt the term Yąnomamö to refer to the entire group whose geographical distribution is shown in Map A,[1] using the term in a linguistic-cultural sense to define the tribe. Others have adopted the same usage with minor differences in spelling.

Several of the above-mentioned terms, Sanema, Waika, and Shamatari deserve further discussion, as they are used either as self-designations or in reference to local groups of Yąnomamö occupying specific geographical areas.

The term Sanema (Wilbert, 1963) is used in the upper Caura River as a self-designation. In this dialect the initial phone /y/ has been replaced throughout the language by /s/, Sanema thus being a local pronunciation of Yąnomamö.[2]

The term Shamatari is used by all the Yąnomamö Indians on the upper Orinoco River to refer to the congeries of villages that occupy the large area south of the Orinoco River and adjacent portions of Brazil. Zerries (1964:19)

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[1] See next page.

[2] Ernesto Migliazza, personal communication. According to Migliazza, the word Sanema is pronounced /Sanöma/.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

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[1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

[1]The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

726 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time in-
114 volved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved
628 peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's
237 lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the
578 establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The
721 timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of
[241] Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens
separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the
feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village
726 warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an
722 extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare
241 necessitates the formation of political alliances with other
36 groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in
a situation where they have no choice except to move into the
village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's
garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

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[1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as
[241] certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-
[36] burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory.
[171] In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and dif-
[128] ferences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also
Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation).
For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned
only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic
practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices
affect Yąnomamö social organization.

10:Chagnon F[illegible].5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER III

DESCENT, MARRIAGE, KINSHIP AND IDEOLOGY

*621 *628 As noted in the introduction, the largest Yąnomamö political unit, the village, is structurally unstable and tends to fragment into hostile factions once the population of the village reaches a certain size.[1] Village splitting [583] results in the establishment of smaller villages the members of which, for considerations of defense, make alliances with other villages, basing the political ties on the exchange of *621 women. The dynamics of village splitting can be illustrated • 128 in a number of ways. In Chapter V the histories of particular villages are set down in some detail, illustrating the nature of the causes of internal struggles. In this chapter, however, I shall discuss the aspects of Yąnomamö descent, marriage, kinship and political ideology that illustrate the role each plays in determining the nature of feuds. This will provide the background for the next chapter, the analysis of village splitting in terms of the genealogical composition of recently established villages.

A. Yąnomamö Corporate Lineal Descent Groups and Marriage

613 421 Corporate lineal descent groups tend to be closely

[928] [1]Village size is discussed in the next chapter.

613 621 608 568 584 726

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

582 584 593 621

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can [illegible]nd on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

583 591 584 602 721 623

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

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[128] [1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[601] [2]By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

*628 lineages in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowã-tedi have
592 exchanged women with each other for a number of generations.
683 Male members of the Hor lineage entered into 29 marriage acts[1]
613 with women of the Sha lineage.[2] An identical number of acts involving Sha men with Hor women also took place. In the exchanges between Mõmaribõwei-tedi and their two allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, there is presently an imbalance in the exchange of women, although reciprocity appears to be developing; a number of women from the latter two villages are promised to members of Mõmaribõwei-tedi--to members of lineages that have already given women to the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi.

*628 An imbalance in the exchange of women implies a dif-
613 ference in political strength between the two groups that
592 exchange women, and the mechanics of the exchange are shaped
583 by this difference in political strength. Post marital resi-
591 dence is viri-patrilocal after the groom performs bride service, but the length of the bride service is determined by the relative political strength of the two villages concerned. If the village of the groom is more powerful than that of the bride, the groom may be able to return to his village with his wife after just a few months of bride service. If the

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[1] See Ackerman, 1964, for a definition of marriage act.

[2] Yanomamõ lineages are not named. I have named them for expediency of analysis after the oldest identifiable member of the lineage, abbreviating the name to three letters. "Sha" lineage, therefore, is the name I have adopted for the patrilineal descendents of a long since dead individual called Shamashiadima.

[128]

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawä's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawä threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawä shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawä, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bäkotawä, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawä discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawä, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

000 groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages,
*621 each having two or more local descent groups, the particular
613 local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties
602 with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with
598 groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds within the village, the groups that have most in common with each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should the feud lead to a village split.[1] While the tie between [607] closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between distantly related agnates.

606 Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-
609 in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other
*621 within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups
613 can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and
578 sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of
582 distantly related agnates. In the competition for women, affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between distantly related agnates.

2. Agnatic ties

593 *621 . One of the two most important consanguineal ties having structural concomitants among the Yanomamö is the tie between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

[128] [1]See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the structure of village factions.

602 capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups
602 exchange women with each other over several generations, the
612 cognatically related members of the two groups have strong
582 ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups
583 is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit
60 obligations to exchange women. MoBrSo is, whether or not you
582 marry his sister, a shoriwä. When the marriage rule is followed, and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between shoriwä are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange.
602 Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in solidarity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

602 The major components in the variation of the strength
561 of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative
621 age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the
128 relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily
591 assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie is scored as "***" and a weak tie as "---". By adding the number of asterisks in each possible combination, a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is given. For example, agnates who are closely related genealogically (A_1: "***"), who differ significantly in age (B_2: "***") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**-") represent a class of agnates having the greatest relative solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination is 8.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4 respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

Table 3: Components of Agnatic Solidarity.

Genealogical		Age		Residence	
close	remote	similar	discrep.	same	different
A_1	A_2	B_1	B_2	C_1	C_2
•••	•—	•—	•••	••—	•—

Possible Combinations	Associated Value
$A_2B_1C_2$	3
$A_2B_1C_1$	4
$A_1B_1C_2$; $A_2B_2C_2$	5
$A_1B_1C_1$; $A_2B_2C_1$	6
$A_1B_2C_1$	7
$A_1B_2C_1$	8

amount of relative solidarity and are the groups most likely to enter into conflicts with each other. The combinations whose scores are 5 and 6 respectively potentially have more solidarity in the agnatic class, but the agnates represented by these combinations are ambiguously related to each other regarding rights in women. The combinations whose scores are 7 and 8 respectively characterize the groups of agnates have the strongest ties.[1]

[1] It will be noted that the combination whose score is 7 involves the component of non-co-residence, i.e., that the agnates are in different villages. This is a possibility when, for example, a man goes to another village to obtain a wife. Such possibilities also occur when members of two different villages trace their origin back to a common group but went to separate villages to obtain spouses, or ended up in separate villages when their common group split.

*621 organization is only approximated, however, as an examination of the genealogies given in Appendix A will show. The smaller the village, the more conspicuous is the tendency for the composition to approach a moiety-like structure. Larger [613] villages are more composite and may contain as many as four or five distinct lineage segments.[1]

*621 The tendency for small villages to be characterized 613 by two (and only two) dominant lineage segments, each linked to the other by marriage ties, recurs with sufficient frequency to permit me to use a simple dual organization model as the [829] basis of the analysis of village structure. The model given in Figure 1 should be taken as only a heuristic devise in the discussion of Yąnomamö village structure that follows; the Yąnomamö do not conceive of their villages as being bifurcated into two groups, for in most instances they are not. And, small villages soon lose their moiety-like structure as they begin to include males and females from villages with which marriage ties are made.

602 The relationships between kin discussed in the pre-
607 vious chapter are all given in Figure 1. The adult males in
582 Generation 1 exchange sisters[2] and are, therefore, related to
583 each other as shoriwë (brother-in-law). This is a well-defined, stable, non-ambiguous relationship; the males in

[128] [1]See Appendix A for a discussion of village composition. Details of one small village are given in the Appendix, but the composition by lineage is summarized for three other villages.

[2]In Figure 1, $A_{1.1}$'s wife is the sister of $B_{1.2}$.

613
602 ties between males of opposite generations within each lineage, father and son, are stable and affective; in short, the males of the village are linked to each other by relationships that are non-ambiguous and essentially amicable. Similarly, the relationships between males and females between and within generations are, excepting the husband-wife tie, well-defined by the incest taboo and/or affective ties that contribute to the solidarity of the group.

128 Certain assumptions are made about the Yąnomamö by reducing their social organization to a model of this sort. First, I have drawn the model with a sex-ratio of 1.0. Second, sibships are shown to be equal in size and identical in composition, i.e., each contains an equal number of males and females. Third, all individuals are married to a single person. Fourth, no deaths and remarriages have taken place. Fifth, the model does not specify whether or not any of the women are pregnant or nursing. Sixth, no military pressures from the outside are shown, nor are political commitments to cede women to allies. Seventh, all males are presumed to have similar political ability and do not compete for village leadership. The list of assumptions could be extended, but would not add to the point made by the seven already given: factors external to the model constantly impinge upon the relationships described in the model, causing the relationships to alter according to the stresses brought about by the external forces.

By adding a few more individuals to Generation 1 and

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

10xChagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

Thus, while Figure 1 serves as a rough model of the ideal Yanomamö village, it does so to only a very limited degree; we are obliged to make faulty assumptions concerning the factors that influence the relationships between individuals included in the model.

Figure 2 gives the simplified genealogical structure of Lower Bisaasi-tedi, the smallest village for which I have adequate genealogical data.[1] This village is divided into two factions, shown as A and B in Figure 2.[2] Faction A is comprised of a local segment of the Sha lineage, a man and his adult children (4 sons and 1 living daughter), and the individuals or families that are attached to this group. Faction B, similarly, is a composite group consisting of the descendents of a man who married into the Sha lineage in the distant past. For sake of convenience, I will call the core political group of Faction B a local segment of the Tom patrilineage, for it behaves as such.[3] It should be noted

[Text Continued on Page 123]

[1] Not all individuals of this village are shown in Figure 2. Appendix A gives the complete genealogies of all individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi. The numbers shown on Figure 2 correspond to the numbers given in the list of residents and genealogy in Appendix A.

[2] Figure 2 takes into consideration classificatory aspects of the kinship system. That is, some of the relationships indicated in the figure are biologically incorrect. The reader will have to refer to the genealogy in Appendix A for purely biological relationships among the individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.

[3] The Tom (from Tomorowä) is not represented in any other Namowei-tedi village, although females of this lineage have married men who are presently living in other Namowei-tedi villages such as Patanowä-tedi, where their living descendents are presently found. (See Appendix A genea-

[Footnote 3 Continued on Page 123]

that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.

There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as there are males in the village, and the group is politically stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mąmariböwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of Bisaasi-tedi.

The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawä, has astutely manipulated

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logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawä-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

the Upper Bisaasi-tedi had a large village and two small villages. The two smaller villages were occupied by the two factions of the Upper group; the large village was unoccupied. It was used only when threat of raid existed, during which time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi re-joined their group and all moved into the large village. In 1965 the large village was rebuilt, but for the first time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi did not participate in the reconstruction of the common village. A few individuals who feared raids, however, did build a section in the village for themselves.

Lower Bisaasi-tedi, then, would re-unite with Upper Bisaasi-tedi in time of war, although each group pursues its own political ends and remains independent of the other in times of peace. One of the major reasons this is so can be explained in terms of the dyadic relationships discussed in the last chapter. Figure 3 gives the simplified lineage structure of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Lower Bisaasi-tedi, and Monou-tedi. These three villages were one in 1954; Monou-tedi split from the group to found their own village. In 1960 Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Lower Bisaasi-tedi split from each other, but remained geographically close to each other. The reasons given for the splits were that the groups were always fighting over women and, to reduce the frequency of club fighting, they simply parted before hostilities became intense. Even at the present time there is considerably more fighting in the village when the groups coalesce for defense purposes. In terms of the kinship dyads, the problem can be

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

Table 4: Age and Sex Distribution of the Yanomamö Population.[1]

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Frequency Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	55	48	103	68	14	288
Females	36	42	77	60	23	238
Totals:	91	90	190	128	37	526

Percentage Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	10.5	9.1	19.6	12.9	2.7	54.8
Females	6.8	8.0	14.6	11.4	4.4	45.2
Totals:	17.3	17.1	34.2	24.3	7.1	100.0

[1] Based on residents of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, Patanowë-tedi, Mõmaribõwei-tedi, and Reyabobõwei-tedi. I was not able to get age estimates on a number of individuals in Reyabobõwei-tedi and Patanowë-tedi, accounting for the difference in total population given in Table 5, Chapter IV. The sex ratio for the above population is 1.22, and male excess is 9.5%, compared to 1.19 and 8.35% in Table 5.

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effectiveness of the raiding party. As someone must stay home to guard the women, the guards usually come from the too young and too old. Usually, however, one or two 'waitedi' (fierce ones), men who have a great deal of experience in warfare and who would bravely defend the village, also remain behind. Thus, a village of 100 people could, at best,

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, PatanowĘ-tedi, MĘmaribŏwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called ParuritawĘ-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

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historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowë-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

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I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yąnomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mõmariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

128 marriage alliances on which I have complete data have taken
361 place between the Shamatari and the two villages of Monou-
174 tedi and Bisaasi-tedi. Over 50% of recently contracted
+628 marriages[1] that represent breaches of the marriage rule
583 preferences were the result of alliances between the villages whose histories are given here. It is, accordingly, important to understand the political and historical circumstances that led to these alliances.

174 A. The History of the Namowei-tedi Group
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361 The Namowei-tedi lived in four different areas between
+128 ca. 1880 and 1943, splitting into two villages in 1943 shortly
[624] after they moved to their fifth location. I outline below the events that led to the abandoning of the first four areas and discuss in more detail the activities of the villages after they established their fifth location. I will treat the Paruritawë-tedi group similarly in Part B of this chapter.

174 Area 1: Konata-tedi (See Map C)
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+628 While living in this area the Naomwei-tedi were on
+621 friendly terms with several Shamatari villages, numbering them among their allies. The Shamatari as a distinct group were
[582] just coming into being between 1880 and 1900. Intermarriages
[583] between the Namowei-tedi and members of several Shamatari villages occurred and a number of individuals in the present villages of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi trace descent back to Shamatari ancestors.

[1] These data on marriages are taken from the villages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi.

174 the Patanowã-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowã-tedi were surrounded
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*628 on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowã-tedi,
722 remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowã-tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowã-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwã.

174 By the time the Patanowã-tedi had gotten into this
*628 situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the
361
602 Patanowã-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their
722 agnates, whence they harried the Hasabõwã-tedi and the groups north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreibõwei-tedi group visited the Patanowã-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowã-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

361 The Patanowã-tedi are presently living between two
*628 sites: Patanowã-tëka and Shamata-tëka, a situation forced on
722 them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowã-tedi.

128 Area 6: Shihota-tëka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

174 Area 7: Kreibõwei-tedi
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361 This site was established in 1949. After fleeing
722 from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowã-tedi, the
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[1] At this point the Patanowã-tedi returned to Patanowã-tëka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawã.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

(Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukumöna-u basin, becoming known as the Mokayëaba-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near a mountain called Aramämisi-këkö, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparce up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukumöna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawä's and Matakuwä's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwä's group, mentioning Kayabawä's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawä-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawä's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwä's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawä-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yanomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1984-1986) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

• 128 In the body of this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate that two variables in particular exert an overriding effect on Yąnomamö social structure. These are, respectivley, the shortage of women and the intensity of actual warfare. In this final chapter, I should like to accomplish two ends. First, I should like to set my conclusions against different material recently gathered among the Yąnomamö in northern Brazil.[1] Second, I should like to bring my material to bear on the discussion between Leach (1957) and Fortes (1959a, 1959b) regarding the relationship of kinship, marriage ties, descent and politics.

121 721 582 183 Let us turn first to comparative Yąnomamö ethnology. If it is true, as I have argued, that warfare enhances the

[1]After I had completed the text of the thesis I had an opportunity to discuss with Ernesto Migliazza the social organization of a number of Brazilian Yąnomamö groups. [114] Migliazza, a linguist, spent nearly six years among the Uraricaá Yąnomamö, working for a Baptist Mission and, more recently, for the Goeldi Museum in Belém. I thank him for permission to use much of the comparative material presented below; some of it has already been published in his 1964 work. I introduce this new data because it very effectively demonstrates the interrelationships between the variables discussed in the thesis. I would have arrived at the same conclusions, by employing arguments similar to those used by Meggitt (1965), but the contrast provided by this new material makes the conclusions more defensible.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-laden terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomoboni*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

This case study is given fuller treatment in respect to both the number of photographs and diagrams and text length than is typical in the case study series, due to the unusual nature of the material. 128

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Phlox, Wisconsin
May 1968

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11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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NAPOLEON A. CHAGNON

Ann Arbor, Michigan
May 1968

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11: Chagnon 8-5 (1984-1988) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1–2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere *is* unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1–2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.

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2

Adaptation

128 THE YANOMAMÖ ADAPTATION to their physical, social, and intellectual environments is dealt with in this chapter.

The Physical Environment

131 Kaobawä's village[1] is Upper Bisaasi-teri, located at the confluence of the Mavaca
133 and Orinoco Rivers. Like most of the villages in this area, it lies at an altitude of about
361 450 feet. While some villages in Brazil reach 3000 feet in altitude, most Yanomamö villages are located at much lower elevations (Fig. 2-1).

137 The general area around Kaobawä's village is a low, flat plain interrupted occasionally by gently rolling hills and, more rarely, by a few low mountain ridges. The land is entirely covered with jungle, even the tops of the mountain ridges.

The jungle is relatively dense and characterized by numerous species of palm and hardwood trees. The forest canopy keeps the sunlight from penetrating to the ground, but scrub brush and vines manage to grow in relatively great abundance in most places, making it difficult to walk along the trails. Thorny brush is especially heavy along the banks of streams, where adequate sunlight and a constant supply of water provide ideal circumstances for its growth.

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128 [1]See map, Fig. 2-8. Villages other than Kaobawä's have been included because they are discussed in this
126 and also in a later chapter. Presently occupied villages are indicated in upper-case lettering and by shading. The area shown in this map is unexplored, except for the zone immediately adjacent to the Orinoco River. The map is, therefore, largely calculated guesswork. To establish dates of occupation I estimated ages of individuals and obtained their stated places of birth. Distance and geographical location were determined by compass readings and measured in sleeps required to reach the location from a given point. I also visited many of the locations shown. While I was in Brazil in 1967, I checked the map locations with informants there, being encouraged by the fact that they independently gave approximately the same information. Fig. 2-8 is a simplified version of the more detailed map c in my doctoral thesis (Chagnon 1966). For more information regarding the techniques used in making the map, consult the thesis.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4] For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5] The cultivated palm, *pijiguao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

3

Social Organization

128 THREE ASPECTS of Yąnomamö social organization will be dealt with: the ideal rules about marriage and the logical consequence of these rules—actual cases of Yąnomamö marriage are compared to the pattern of ideal marriage to justify the use of a model to describe Yąnomamö social structure; the demographic and political factors that bring about discrepancies between actual behavior and ideal behavior; the more important aspects of the division of labor and of ordinary daily life in the society.

Social Structure

121 128 This section is the most technical portion of the chapter; careful study of the diagrams is required as the text is read. Kinship is the heart of primitive social structure, and it must be understood in detail rather than through generalities. The rules governing [582] marriage, along with the kinship system, together comprise and delineate the structure (602) of Yąnomamö society. There is no simple way to present the data, which itself is frequently boring to even accomplished anthropologists, and students of anthropology must sooner or later come to grips with this important topic. Fortunately, the Yąnomamö kinship system is the type most commonly found among the world's primitives and it is, comparatively speaking, quite easy to grasp once the patterns in the diagram are spotted.

128 The important features of Yąnomamö social structure are represented in the model shown in Fig. 3-1. This diagram is based on an analysis of Yąnomamö marriage rules, kinship terminology, and other social and ideological features characteristic of their behavior. The symbols given in the legend of Fig. 3-1 will also be used in the diagrams that follow. It should be borne in mind that the model is only an ideal representation of Yąnomamö society; we shall see below how closely actual behavior conforms to this model. One of the objectives of structural anthropology is to attempt comparisons of different kinds of societies by using models of this type. In the discussions that follow I shall present some actual field data to justify the use of this model to represent Yąnomamö social structure.

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611 the village, the members of which being related to each other as brother and sister, and
602 the fact that individuals must marry outside their own lineages.
582 The important features of the lineages X and Y are now clearly visible in genera-
613 tion II: The lineages are patrilineal and exogamous. That is, males and females belong to the lineage of their father (patrilineality), and individuals must marry people who belong to a different lineage (exogamy). This can be seen more clearly in the symbols
601 used in Fig. 3-1. All males of lineage X are designated by triangles (x_1, x_2, x_3 . . . x_8), and all females of lineage X are designated by hexagons. Similarly, all males of lineage Y are designated as squares and all females by circles. Males of lineage X marry females of lineage Y. Their children belong to lineage X because their *father* (patrilineality) is of lineage X.

601 The Yąnomamö kinship system also reflects the rules of lineage exogamy, brother-
613 sister exchange and reciprocity. Their kinship system is called the "bifurcate merging"
582 type with "Iroquois" cousin terms (see Glossary). Within each generation, all the males of one lineage call each other "brother," and all the women call each other "sister." Males of lineage X call males of lineage Y "brother-in-law" and are eligible to marry their sisters. In fact, the males of lineage X call the females of lineage Y "wife" *whether or not they marry them*. This is likewise true for the males of lineage Y with respect to the females of lineage X. This brings us to another important Yąnomamö marriage rule: A male must marry a woman of the category called *suaböya*—"wife." This is called a *prescriptive* marriage rule.[2] To state it more precisely, Yąnomamö society is characterized by a rule that enjoins a man to marry a woman of a specific kinship category; he has no choice with respect to the category.

582 There is an important controversy over the meaning and implications of the term
114 "prescriptive." I have given the definition held by British anthropologists generally,
128 by Needham (1962*a*:9) in particular. This definition emphasizes the fact that men have no choice with respect to the category of women from which their wives must come, that men are forbidden to marry women of other categories, and that the society itself is said to be characterized by the prescriptive rule. The opposition to this definition comes largely from certain American anthropologists, who maintain that a society can only be said to have a prescriptive marriage rule when a high percentage (close to 100 percent) of the people marry according to the rule (see Coult and Hammel 1963:291). The issues involved are not quite as simple as this, but a glimmering of the area of contention can be seen in an example provided by Leach (1965). Rephrasing his example, the rule (in our society) "thou shalt not kill" is like the rule (among, say, the Yąnomamö) "thou shalt marry a woman of category A." These rules can be said to exist in the respective societies irrespective of the homocide rate in New York or the frequency of aberrant marriages in a Yąnomamö village. That is, Leach (and Needham) maintain that one cannot discover such a rule by counting examples of murder (or, rather, "non-murder") or marriages of men to women of category A. The more basic issue, however, is the

[2]Professor Lévi-Strauss, who read an earlier draft of this chapter, quite correctly pointed out that to say a marriage system is "prescriptive" is to say no more than "a man must marry a marriageable female," which is a tautology. Nevertheless, we must have some way to distinguish a system that permits marriage with only a single category of women from those that permit marriage with women of several categories. By showing what is meant by the Yąnomamö category *suaböya*, as I have attempted to do in Fig. 3-2, the reader will gain some idea of what is meant by that marriage type. I have used the term "prescriptive" because it is the current usage.

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meaning of, in this case, "category A." It is customary to represent primitive kinship categories in models (for example, Fig. 3–1) by their closest biological equivalents in *our own kinship system*. Many critics of Needham's definition of prescription fail to appreciate the fact that *FaSiDa* and *MoBrDa* in a model like the one given in Fig. 3–1 represent just *two* of several kinds of kinswomen who fall into the prescribed category. That is, they interpret the native's kinship category from the narrow point of view of one of that category's biological meanings in *our own kinship system*. (I have given ten examples of actual Yąnomamö marriages in Fig. 3–2, discussed later, to illustrate what the categories FaSiDa and MoBrDa mean to the Yąnomamö.) The use of Needham's definition of prescription to characterize Yąnomamö marriage rules can be justified, therefore, on several grounds. First, the Yąnomamö assert that a man must marry a woman of the *tuaböya* category. Second, of the six primary categories used by men to classify female relatives, five of them embrace women who stand in incestuous relationship to the male speaker, and he is forbidden to marry any woman that falls into any of these five additional categories. Third, we will see below how closely the alternative definition of prescription fits the Yąnomamö, using their own notions of kinship to reckon relationships between males and females.[3]

In Fig. 3–1, marriageable women are related to their husbands as both FaSiDa and MoBrDa; this is an artifact of the way in which the model is drawn. These two kinds of kinswomen are the closest biological equivalents in our kinship system for the Yąnomamö term "*tuaböya*" "wife." It must be emphasized, however, that given the classificatory nature of the Yąnomamö kinship system (for example, men of the same generation and of the same lineage are "brothers"), there are several ways to be related to a woman as "wife."

Something new has happened in generation III. A man (w_1) from a distant village, along with his sister, has joined the group. Both he and his sister have married into lineage X. Thus, there are three lineages represented in the village (W, X, and Y), and the *dual organization* characterizing generations I and II is now lost.[4] A Yąnomamö village can incorporate new lineages into its social life by an extension of marriage ties to its members. As can be seen from Fig. 3–1, the same rules—exogamy, reciprocity, patrilineal descent, and brother-sister exchange—that characterize the behavior of the members of lineages X and Y also hold for the members of the new lineage, W. The incorporation of lineage W takes place this way. W_1 joined the village in 1928 (generation III) because x_3 and x_4 promised him one of their sisters. As shown in Fig. 3–1, he did, in fact, marry one of their sisters and gave, in exchange, one of his sisters to x_3.

This (potentially) brings about an important structural change in the village with

[3]For an excellent summary of the various arguments concerning "prescriptive alliance," see Maybury-Lewis 1965*a*.

[4]A society is said to have dual organization when, for example, it is comprised of two intermarrying kinship groups, such as lineages X and Y in generations I and II of Fig. 3–1. In some societies the intermarrying kin groups are named, for example, "Bear Clan (or Moiety)" and "Thunderbird Clan (or Moiety)." The Yąnomamö do not have named kinship groups such as this. Dual organization is, however, implied in their kinship terminology and marriage rules and, as will be seen, villages tend to have two (and only two) politically dominant lineages that intermarry. In short, the Yąnomamö village tends to be comprised *in fact* of two dominant kinship groups but lacks some of the ideology, such as named pairs of intermarrying kin groups, of classical dual organization. See: Maybury-Lewis, 1960 and 1967; Lévi-Strauss, 1963, Chapter VIII; Nimuendajú and Lowie, 1927; and Malinowski, 1926, for further descriptions and analyses of societies having dual organization.

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respect to the male members of lineage X. Generation III shows that individuals x_3 and x_4 are full brothers. The individuals x_5 and x_6 of generation IV, however, are not shown as brothers, although in Yąnomamö kinship usage they would be such.

I have not indicated them as being related as brothers in order to draw attention to a fault line that may develop when the members of a single lineage (X in this case) marry into more than one other lineage (W and Y in this case). x_3 and one of his sisters married into lineage W, whereas x_4 and one of his sisters continued to exchange with members of lineage Y. In the following generation the kinship tie of "brother" between x_5 and x_6 is considerably weaker than the same "brother" tie between their fathers (x_3 and x_4). In generation V, the "brother" tie between x_7 and x_8 is weaker still. One of the reasons that *agnatic* ties[5] weaken in this case is that the men in question are drawn into intimate relationship with the kinship groups from which they obtain their wives and assume, because of the principle of reciprocity, obligations to their affinally related (that is, by marriage) kinsmen.

Secondly, because agnates of the same generation are "brothers," they can marry the same women and are, hence, competitors. In other words, the obligations to exchange women (reciprocity) can link the members of affinally related groups to each other more intimately than ties of blood between males of the same lineage. (This can be more readily seen in Figs. 3–5 and 3–6, discussed later, but it can also be partially illustrated here.) If the village shown in Fig. 3–1 were to split in generation V and form two new villages, lineage X would pull apart along the fault line shown. That is, parts of lineage X would end up in each of the two new groups because the affinal (marriage) ties between its members and their wife-givers are stronger than the agnatic ties within the lineage. Individual x_7 and his sister would form a new village with w_3 (and his sister) while x_8, his "brother" (agnate), would remain paired with lineage Y. Lineage X would therefore be represented in both of the two new villages; individuals x_7 and x_8 would "feel" even more remotely related because they now live in different villages, although they would continue to call each other "brother." Finally, the two new villages would again demonstrate the dual organization that characterized generations I and II of the original village of Fig. 3–1. For the sake of simplicity I have shown each married pair with only two children (except in generation III) so that the village remains constant in size, growing only by the addition of new members. In an actual village lineages X and Y might comprise up to 80 percent of the population so that the addition of a few new members such as w_1 would not appreciably alter the dual composition.

In Fig. 3–1, lineage X stands as wife-giver and wife-receiver with respect to the other two lineages. The significance of this relationship cannot be exaggerated in the analysis of Yąnomamö social organization. Its strength derives from the obligations kinship groups have toward each other once they enter into reciprocal marriage exchanges. The wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship is also reflected in the attitudes men have toward their affines, such as brothers-in-law, as opposed to attitudes toward distant agnates. A man is on very intimate terms with his brother-in-law, jokes with him, gives him possessions, and protects him; a man treats an agnate of the same age with great reserve and coolness and tends to be jealous of him. He cannot, for example, directly ask

[5]Kinship ties between patrilineally related kinsmen.

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him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach (1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3-2, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3-2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_8 and y_5 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3-2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be supported by data not given in Fig. 3-2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3-2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative. If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3-4 and 3-5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids.

Fig. 3-2. Selected genealogies illustrating actual Yanomamö marriage rules.

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analysis of reciprocal marriage exchanges between such groups and the obligations implied in such exchange is seriously hampered. In short, if Yąnomamö marriage exchanges over a number of generations and the kinship basis of village fissioning are examined, the data support Leach's arguments. They do not, however, invalidate Fortes' argument that blood ties create some solidarity, but they do call into question the contention that blood ties by definition, or, rather, on "first principles," account exclusively for the solidarity occurring between lineages.

In summary, Fig. 3–1 represents a number of important features of Yąnomamö social organization. First, people reckon descent through males and are grouped into exogamous, patrilineal lineages. These are called *mahi* by the Yąnomamö, although none of them bear distinctive names.[7] Second, members of these lineages tend to intermarry with the members of a second lineage over a number of generations, being bound to them by obligations to reciprocate women in marriage. This results in a dual organization of kinsmen within the village, whose residents fall into one or the other of the two lineages. Third, new lineages can be incorporated into the village by an extension of marriage ties, potentially bringing about "structural faults" within the lineages of that village. Fourth, men are obliged to marry a woman of a single, specific category, *suaböya*. This category defines a variety of women, two subcategories of which can be translated into the English biological equivalents MoBrDa and FaSiDa. Yąnomamö men prefer to marry women of these subcategories because they are relieved of much of the discomfort of avoiding their mothers-in-law.[8]

The ten partial genealogies shown in Fig. 3–2 show how the Yąnomamö actually marry. The genealogies have been selected with the intention of illustrating how the Yąnomamö reckon relationships between kinsmen in general, and between husband and wife in particular. All ten exemplify prescriptive marriage. They are more or less arranged in decreasing order of correspondence to our own biological concepts of kinship and illustrate the classificatory nature of their kinship system.

The people shown on these genealogies are (or were) real people. Many of the individuals in the examples are related to each other in such ways that all ten of the examples could be drawn as a single, unified genealogy.

The first eight examples are drawn from the village of Patanowä-teri; the last two are from Bisaasi-teri. In case J, for example, the fifth individual of the second generation is Kąobawä. To give a rough idea of the incompleteness of each genealogy, only one of Kąobawä's four marriages is shown and only one of his four children. None of his brothers and sisters are shown either, nor is the fact that he married a MoBrDa indicated.

Case A illustrates the identification procedure to be used in relating the genealogies to the text. There are three generations shown in case A; the first is symbolized by the Roman numeral I, the second, by II, the third, by III. Each individual in each generation is given a number; the number series runs from left to right and begins anew with 1 in each generation. Hence, every individual bears a generation number and a position-within-generation number. Case A illustrates the marriage of individuals III–1 to III–2;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[7] *Mahi* means "species," "group," "cluster of similar things," and, in the context of kinship, "that group of people to whom I am related through males;" that is, "patrilineal kinsmen."

[8] I draw attention to the fact that the category is *prescribed*, but within it there are *preferences*. There are very few analyses of societies that have a prescriptive rule within which there are preferences, although Needham has devoted some attention to this interesting phenomenon (1962*a*, 1962*b*, and 1963).

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that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *suaböya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III–1) would have called the woman *suaböya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *bąroya*.

The marriage of III–1 to III–2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II–1 and II–4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I–2 was an *adopted* brother to I–3, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3–3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *sororal polygyny:* III–1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II–3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

606 123 [551] The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kaobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III–1 and III–3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I–2 and I–3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III–1 married his FaSiDa.

128 595 602 *Case E:* The marriage of III–1 to III–2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his marriage to the second wife, III–3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 [601] *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III–1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III–1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 587 602 *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II–6 married two brothers, II–5 and II–7, illustrating the *levirate:* the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II–9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III–3 and III–4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III–5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV–1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I–2 and I–4 were adopted brothers, so that their [597] sons (II–2 and II–4) were also siblings. Hence, IV–1 married his FaSiDa (IV–2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III–6) was a sister to III–2, since their respective fathers (II–9 and II–2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III–1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

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FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *suaböya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamö would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *suaböya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3–1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *suaböya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamö kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II–2 is the headman of Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV–1 to IV–2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV–1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąobawä, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship. The man (III–1) married his *suaböya* according to the Yąnomamö, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III–1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąobawä has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąobawä belongs is shown on Fig. 3–5, discussed later as the *Sbs* lineage.)

The Yąnomamö do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Sbs* lineage is named after a man called *Sbamabiadima*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąobawä's village, the *Sbs* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horiborböwä*. The *Sbs* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri,

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members are shown. Each group is paired off with an equivalent local descent group of the opposite lineage, giving the four numbered pairs. When village A fissions to form villages B and C, lineages X and Y will break at the weakest points, resulting in the formation of two new villages that have an identical composition: Village B is like village C in size and contains two local descent groups of lineages X and Y; the two local descent groups of each lineage in both new villages are paired with the analogous group of the opposite lineage. Fig. 3–4 can be viewed as a diagram of the physical organization of the village. Thus, in village A the male members of lineage X would tend to live on one side of the village, while the males of lineage Y would live on the opposite side. In actual distribution, then, the village has a "diametric dual organization" (Lévi-Strauss, 1961, Chapter 8). The Yąnomamö, however, do not conceive of the village as having discrete halves. That is, they do not have formal rules enjoining the male members of lineage X to live on one side of the village. There are always residential exceptions to the arrangement shown in Fig. 3–4.

Village B fissions again, resulting in the further breakdown of lineages X and Y. The outcome, villages D and E, is essentially like the outcome of the fission in village A; that is, the resulting new villages are alike in composition, size, and structure. Village C has not fissioned and continues to exist as it did after separating from village B. A comparison of the three villages shown in the last step of Fig. 3–4 will reveal that D, E, and C′ are interrelated villages because patrilineages X and Y occur in each of them. The members of the patrilineages would still continue to call each other brother and sister, although they would be distributed in three different villages. The genealogical ties connecting villages D, E, and C′ have been drawn in to emphasize this relationship.

The reason that lineages break down in this fashion stems from the fact that remote agnatic ties are weaker than the marriage ties that link the paired local descent groups to each other. The strength of the affinal ties between paired local descent groups derives from the obligations of reciprocity in marriage exchanges. Thus, when village B fissioned, local descent group X-1 had stronger ties to Y-1 than it did to X-2. The result was that X-1 and Y-1 separated from X-2 and Y-2 to form their own village, D.[11]

Fig. 3–4 describes the "ideal" pattern of village fissioning. Fig. 3–5 shows the structure and composition of three actual Yąnomamö villages for comparison. As in Fig. 3–4, only the adult males are shown. The incomplete triangles of Upper Bisaasi-teri in Fig. 3–5 signify that the men in question do not live in that village, but they must be included in the diagram to show that their sons live in Upper Bisaasi-teri. The two men actually live in Patanowä-teri, the composition of which is not shown in Fig. 3–5. What has been shown is that the lineages *Hor* and *Sha* extend into Patanowä-teri. In fact, the population of that village is comprised largely of members of these two lineages. See Table 3–1. Only the adult male members of the villages are shown for the three villages in Fig. 3–5, since it is this class of men that dominates the political affairs of the village. For those interested in *all* the genealogical relationships between *all* the members of one of the villages (Lower Bisaasi-teri), see Chagnon, 1966, Figure 2 and Appendix A. As can be seen from Fig. 3–5, each village is characterized by a dual organization of intermarrying lineages. In 1960, Lower Bisaasi-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri were, in fact, a single village. It can be seen how local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage, for example,

[11]The pair "X-1 and Y-1" is represented on Fig. 3–4 simply by the numeral "1".

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621
623
582
602

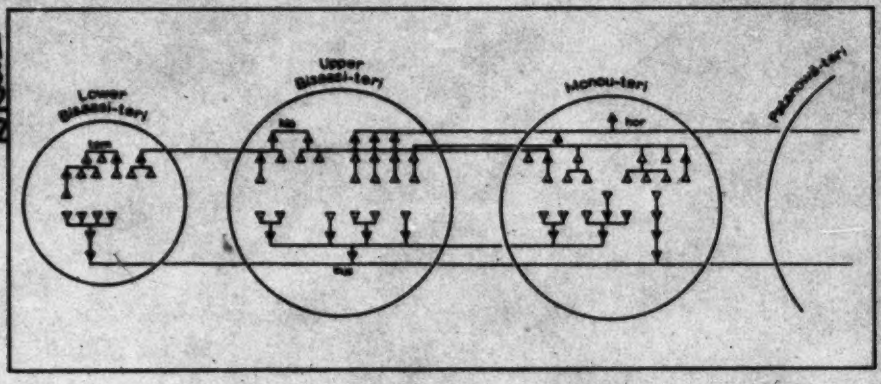

Fig. 3-5. Actual village fissioning.

separated from each other because of the ties each had to affinally linked descent groups of other lineages. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-teri is comprised essentially of two groups: a local descent group of the *Sha* lineage and a local descent group of the *Tam* lineage. Their members have exchanged women with each other for several generations, creating strong bonds of reciprocal obligations to continue to exchange in the future (Chagnon 1966). Similarly, the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in the two remaining villages shown in the figure are linked by affinal ties to other lineages.

Further back in history—1954—Monou-teri also constituted a portion of the village that included Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Fig. 2-4, Chapter 2). Finally, the three villages shown on Fig. 3-5 constituted a single village with Patanowã-teri about 1940. The fissioning of the original village (and subsequent village fissioning) resulted in the distribution of local descent groups according to pairs, as shown in Fig. 3-4.[12]

Discrepancies in the Marriage Pattern

128
582
621*

I presented in considerable detail the relationship between actual behavior and ideal rules about behavior from a qualitative point of view. This was accomplished by comparing genealogical diagrams describing some actual examples to ideal models of marriage and village fissioning. I will now give some of the quantitative aspects of marriage behavior and the demographic and political bases of the actual marriage pattern.

Table 3-2 shows the distribution of marriage types found in two related villages.

[191]

[12]In some areas of Brazil the pattern of village fissioning is slightly different. There, a local descent group may even establish its own house, separated from the wife-giving/wife-receiving member of the pair by as much distance as several miles. What I have been calling the "village" in this discussion breaks down, in portions of Brazil, into several "part-villages" that are not capable of carrying on an independent social existence. That is, members of the "part-village," the composition of which is essentially a single local descent group of one lineage, must obtain their wives from some other nonlocal group.

These figures represent a *sample* of marriages in the two villages. The sample consists of all married males who are thirty-five years old or younger. The sample was chosen in this fashion because the analysis of the marriage types depends on genealogical information covering several generations. By selecting only the younger men the analysis can be quite easily undertaken. In Patanowä-teri there were 38 men of this category, many of whom had multiple wives. A man with four wives, therefore, represents four marriages. In Lower Bisaasi-teri only 10 married men were below thirty-five years of age and accounted for the seventeen marriages. If all the men were included, the analysis would be inaccurate because I do not have adequately long genealogies for some of the oldest men. Up to 1940, the villages of Patanowä-teri and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not separate entities; they separated from each other at about that time. Patanowä-teri is a large and powerful village, containing 212 people. Lower Bisaasi-teri, with only 51 people, is militarily dependent on several of its allies.

Four types of marriages are shown in Table 3–2. The term prescriptive refers to the kinds of marriages described in Fig. 3–2. An incestuous marriage is defined as a man marrying a woman of his own patrilineage (or his mother or niece reckoned through his mother's side of the family). Marriages resulting from either alliance or abduction have been lumped into a single category because they represent the recruitment of spouses from outside the group. Finally, a few marriages are unexplainable in terms of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage equations; these represent marriages between members of distinct lineages that have recently entered into exchanges with each other.

As can be seen from Table 3–2, there is a major difference between the two villages in the proportion of prescriptive marriages on the one hand and alliance marriages on the other. In short, the Patanowä-teri follow their marriage prescriptions far more rigorously than do the Lower Bisaasi-teri. This is so because Patanowä-teri, a much larger village, does not need to enter into marriage alliances with its neighbors; it is politically and militarily capable of an autonomous existence. Most of the alliance-abduction marriages in Patanowä-teri are, in fact, abductions; in Bisaasi-teri most of them are alliance marriages. Therefore, the relative frequency of alliance-type marriages is much lower for Patanowä-teri than for Lower Bisaasi-teri. This difference in marriage behavior stems from the relative abilities of the two groups to maintain military autonomy in a milieu of chronic warfare, a quality that is largely a function of the size of the group. The members of a militarily vulnerable village will breach the marriage prescriptions in order to establish political alliances with neighboring groups by ceding women to them.

TABLE 3–2
MARRIAGE TYPES IN PATANOWÄ-TERI AND LOWER BISAASI-TERI

	Patanowä-teri	Lower Bisaasi-teri
1. Prescriptive	37	7
2. Incestuous	4	1
3. Alliance and/or abduction	8	9
4. Unexplained	3	0
Totals:	52	17

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4

Political Alliances, Trading and Feasting

YĄNOMAMÖ FEASTS take place only when one sovereign group entertains the members of another, allied group. Feasts, in brief, are political events. To be sure, economic and ceremonial implications are also significant, but these are relatively minor when compared to the functions of the feast in the context of forming alliances. The chief purpose of entertaining allies is to reaffirm and cultivate intervillage solidarity in the intimate, sociable context of food presentations, thereby putting the ally under obligation to reciprocate the feast in his own village at a later date, bringing about another feast and even more solidarity.

I will describe in this chapter some of the relationships between trade, economic specialization, historical ties between groups, warfare, and intervillage marriage exchanges, all of which are intimately connected and interact with each other in the process of developing political alliances.

I described in Chapter 2 how the members of independent villages cultivated friendships with each other in the process of establishing themselves in a loose network of allied villages. I then showed in Chapter 3 how Kąobawä's followers were related to him and how he, in turn, was related to the members of several other villages. Now I will take up some of the political consequences of the historical ties and how they shape and mould the nature of specific contemporary relationships between Kąobawä's group and those which have political dealings with it. To illustrate this, I will describe the details of a particular feast in the context of the political ties, both historical and contemporary, existing between Kąobawä's group and the guests at the feast. First, however, I will comment on Yąnomamö alliances in general.

General Features of Alliances

One of the expectations and implications of alliance is that the partners are under obligation to provide shelter and sustenance to each other whenever one of them is driven from his village and garden by a powerful enemy. The beleaguered partner may be

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

which more stable types of alliance can develop. Nor do they overtly acknowledge the relationships between trading and feasting cycles to village interdependency. In this regard they are like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia: They have a "functional ignorance" of the more significant adaptive aspects of their trading institutions. To both the Yąnomamö and the Trobrianders, the mechanisms by which peoples from different groups are compelled to visit each other are ends in themselves and are not conceived to be related to the establishment of either economic or political interdependency. For the Yąnomamö participant in a feast, the feast itself has its significance in the marvelous quantities of food, the excitement of the dance, and the satisfaction of having others admire and covet the fine decorations he wears. The enchantment of the dance issues from the dancer's awareness that, for a brief moment, he is a glorious peacock that commands the admiration of his fellows, and it is his responsibility and desire to present a spectacular display of his dance steps and gawdy accouterments. In this brief, ego-building moment, each man has an opportunity to display himself, spinning and prancing about the village periphery, chest puffed out, while all watch, admire, and cheer wildly.

The hosts, too, have an opportunity to display themselves and strut before their guests. Moreover, the very fact that they have given the feast is in itself a display of affluence and surfeit apparently calculated to challenge the guests to reciprocate with an equally grandiose feast at a later date.[1] Each good feast deserves and calls forth another, and in this way allies become better acquainted with each other as they reciprocate feasts during the dry season and over the years.

Historical Background to a Particular Feast

One of the feasts I witnessed exhibited all the features of intervillage politics. Before describing this feast, I will give the historical antecedents to the event, recapitulating a number of points discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the history of Kąobawä's village. The significance of the events will then become clear, for Kąobawä's prior relationships to the guests at the feast had a great deal to do with the outcome.

In 1950 Kąobawä's group, almost friendless, beleaguered by enemies, and somewhat isolated, began cultivating an alliance with the Iwahikoroba-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8), a Shamatari village, some two days' traveling distance southeast of their own village at Kreiböwei. The Iwahikoroba-teri were on friendly terms with another Shamatari group, the Möwaraoba-teri, from whom they had separated some years before. Kąobawä's group, on the other hand, was at war with this village because members of his own group murdered a friendly Möwaraoba-teri visitor in 1940, touching off a series of raids between them. Anxious to develop an alliance, Kąobawä's group accepted a feast invitation from the Iwahikoroba-teri and visited that village to participate in the feast. Up to that point they were only on trading terms with them.

The Iwahikoroba-teri, however, had made a prior arrangement with their friends, the Möwaraoba-teri, to help them massacre Kąobawä's men and abduct his group's women. The Möwaraoba-teri were hidden in the jungle outside the village when Kąo-

[1] The competitive aspects of feasting in many primitive societies has been dealt with at length by Marcel Mauss, whose essay *The Gift* is now an anthropological classic.